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ABSTRACT

The objectives of this empirical study were (1) to determine to what degree Gouldner's typology of local-cosmopolitan latent social roles would be reproduced in a survey of the 14 institutions comprising Pennsylvania's state owned college and university system, and (2) to determine whether the resulting typology would be useful in predicting the attitudes of these faculties and administrators toward Pennsylvania's recent negotiations legislation enabling the state college faculties to organize for collective bargaining. Five of Gouldner's six factors were recovered from 813 responses to a 73-item questionnaire survey mailed to a stratified random sample of faculty and administration of these 14 institutions five months prior to the statewide election for bargaining representative. The survey poll predicted the outcome of the election.

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LOCAL-COSMOPOLITANISM AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IN A STATE COLLEGE SYSTEM*

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Though preceded by such investigators as Bentz, Merton, and Reissman, it has been Alvin Gouldner's classic case study of Co-op college that has triggered much of the subsequent research focusing on the gross concept of local-cosmopolitanism.[1] The rapid adoption of this particular typology of latent social roles suggests its utility in providing insights into organizational problems.[2] But, perhaps the ready acceptance of the typology has masked some of the empirical problems involved in rigorously defining the construct. In a recent penetrating criticism, Grimes and Berger conclude that

> ...in its present state of development the cosmopolitan-local construct is merely an appealing label reified by researchers neglecting the problems inherent in substantive classification models.[3]

The intent of the study reported here was (1) to determine to what degree the typology uncovered by Gouldner in a small, private, liberal-arts college could be reproduced in a study of Pennsylvania's 14 public, state colleges, and (2) to determine whether the resulting typology would be useful in predicting the attitudes of faculty and administrators toward an issue common to all of the state colleges —— the selection of a collective bargaining representative.

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Professional Negotiations in Higher Education

Of the approximate 2,537 institutions of higher learning in the United States, only the faculties of 254 thus far have committed themselves to representation by a specific bargaining agent.[4] Despite the increasing trend toward professional negotiations, there are an estimated 836,000 faculty members not represented by a bargaining representative.[5] It is anticipated that these unrepresented faculty members, who comprise 94 per cent of the professors in this country, will be the targets of increasing collective bargaining efforts.

Organizations which commit themselves to collective bargaining first must be elected by the faculties they propose to represent. More often than not, this is a highly competitive undertaking. Increases in membership by the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) have forced its rivals —— primarily the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) and the National Education Association (NEA) —— to adopt a more militant posture toward professional negotiations.[6] On October 30, 1971, the council of the most reticent of the organizations —— the AAUP, adopted the position that

> the Association will pursue collective bargaining as a major additional way of realizing the Association's goals in higher education and will allocate such resources and staff as are necessary for...this activity...[7]

The NEA had previously entered the fray by endorsing a system of economic sanctions and organizing a militant Junior College Faculty Association, which has chosen a strong, aggressive posture in its relationship with administrators.[8]

Despite the increasing faculty activism with regard to the collective bargaining issue, there has been little empirical evidence to provide guidelines for parties to educational negotiations. In a paper presented to the National Conference on Collective Negotiations in May of 1970, Professor Wollet said,

"One of the most surprising facts of collective negotiations in higher education is the paucity of reliable information."[9]

The Pennsylvania Sample

The data base for the study reported here is derived from a sample survey of faculty members from the 14 institutions comprising Pennsylvania's state-owned college and university system. The occasion was the October 6, 1971 election of a professional negotiations representative for this system, mandated under the 1970 passage of Pennsylvania's Act 195 —— the Public Employee Relations Act. This legislation enables the state's public employees to organize for collective bargaining, provides for the election of a bargaining representative, and grants the right to strike under certain circumstances.

On April 16, 1971, the authors undertook a survey of attitudes related to the passage of Act 195 and polled faculty as to their possible choice of bargaining agent in the forthcoming election. The survey was mailed to 2,866 professors, representing a stratified random sample of the 4,594 full-time faculty members at the 14 state-owned institutions.

The total number of fully-completed, usable instruments returned in response to the first mailing of the 73-item questionnaire was 813 or slightly less than a third of the sample —— a typical response rate to a single mailing. Perhaps a shorter questionnaire would have increased the rate of response, but depth of response would have been sacrificed. The cost involved in mailing a second questionnaire precluded the pursuit of the usual follow-up procedure —— a technique that sometimes increases the percentage of total returns by as much as 40 per cent.[10]

The researchers are well aware of the fact that the credibility of any survey research findings is dependent on the response rate. In fact, Kerlinger

lists two very serious, if not fatal, defects of using mailed questionnaires as "possible lack of response and the inability to check responses given."[11] Many researchers attempt to deal with this problem by comparing the background characteristics of respondents with those of non-respondents in an attempt to show that individuals who did not return the questionnaire were not atypical of the population under investigation, and therefore, had they completed the questionnaire, the findings would not be altered. Yet, background variables do not correlate highly enough with attitudes to make this assumption, otherwise why gather attitudinal data at all when background information would suffice?

Recent empirical evidence indicates that concern over bias presumed to be inherent in every sample with a low response rate may be exaggerated if the population under investigation is homogenous. In a collective bargaining study of collective bargaining in 12 Pennsylvania community colleges, Moore found that although respondents differed from non-respondents in several background characteristics, these differences did not carry over to their answers on the attitudinal items.[12] Moore concludes that demographic variables are far less likely to affect faculty responses to issues of collective bargaining than their identity with the group of community college faculty members. Leslie reaches the same conclusion based upon his research on the response-rate bias question. After comparing many studies involving differences between respondents and non-respondents, Leslie believes:

> ...researchers surveying issues directly related to homogeneous groups should not be overly concerned about the percentage of questionnaire returns. Representativeness will most likely be excellent. This presumes, of course, that enough responses are gained to meet statistical assumptions.[13]

Leslie realizes that his position is a departure from accepted methodological procedure and so advises the "prudent survey researcher" to substantiate the validity of his findings. Fortunately, survey research sometimes provides the opportunity for just this kind of external validation. Kerlinger, who evidenced a very low opinion of mailed questionnaires, also observed,

> ...in checking the validity of a measuring instrument, it is necessary to use an outside criterion. One compares one's results to some outside, presumably valid, criterion.[14]

The representativeness of our sample can be validated by comparing survey results with the actual outcome of the election for bargaining agent.[15] The survey data accurately predicted not only the winner of the election, but the direction of the vote (proportion of the vote received by each of the vying agents) as well.[16]

The Local-Cosmopolitan Construct

Cumulative scales for the variables of organizational loyalty, commitment to specialized skills and reference group orientation provided the theoretical underpinnings for the local-cosmopolitan construct. From individual scores on these quasi-scales, Gouldner constructed a "scale of scales" which produced four categories of professors, ranging from extreme cosmopolitans to extreme locals.[17]

Based upon information given in Appendix A of Gouldner's first study, the loyalty to profession and loyalty to organization scales were constructed using Pennsylvania data. All items on the commitment to skills scale were identical to the ones used by Gouldner. The one difference in processing the items was that Gouldner used "...a weighted coefficient representing the number of books or articles published..." where we utilized the items separately, differentiating between professors who had published either articles or books and those who

had not.[18] This was a necessary modification given the fact that Gouldner's article did not specify the weighting procedure used to form the combined item. Application of the scaling techniques to the items yielded a quasi-scale (C.R. = 85.8) of five positions for Gouldner and a quasi-scale of (C.R. = 88) of six positions for us.

Our loyalty to organization scale had one less item than did Gouldner's, which may explain why our items formed a scale (C.R. = .97) and Gouldner's yielded a quasi-scale (C.R. = 89.8). The actual items used in each of the two surveys are reported in Appendix A.

Gouldner's third quasi-scale, inner-outer reference group orientation, was not replicated for theoretical, as well as practical, reasons. Item 89A of Gouldner's three-item scale relates to an investigation of communism on campus —— a specific, dated question irrelevant to Pennsylvania colleges in 1971. More importantly, the use of an external referent to define the local-cosmopolitan construct is peculiar to Gouldner. The Grimes and Berger summary of local-cosmopolitan taxonomies reveals that this variable has not been used by researchers who further developed the concept. They contend that "the internal-external reference dichotomy is not related to professional orientation in a simple way, but depends upon organizational variables."[20]

The local-cosmopolitan construct does imply conflict within an organization that contains professionals since an inverse relationship between commitment to organization and commitment to profession is assumed. The professional presumably responds to authority based upon expertise, while the organization relies upon the authority of hierarchy.[21] But the local-cosmopolitan construct as currently used contains more than just these two polar types.[22] In addition to locals and cosmopolitans, there is a latent social role type, which Barney

Glaser labeled "local-cosmopolitan", which consists of organizational professionals committed both to their professions and to their organizations.[23] Furthermore, there is evidence which suggests that local-cosmopolitans may be professionals in education as well as in the sciences. Caplow and McGee contend, for example, that

> In a handful of great universities, where many of the departments believed to be the best in their fields, are found, a merger of orientations is possible. There many may simultaneously serve an institution and a discipline and identify with both.[24]

Conversely, a fourth latent role type, called "uninterested" or "indifferent" possessing characteristics opposite those of the local-cosmopolitans has also been used in recent studies.[25] The evolution of this four-fold typology is graphically presented in an article by Miller and Wagner.[26] This paradigm will be adopted in this study and used to re-evaluate Gouldner's original conception of local-cosmopolitanism.

Gouldner's first study does, in fact, juxtapose the variables of organizational loyalty and professional commitment, but adds the third variable, reference group orientation, to define local-cosmopolitanism. Given the more refined conception of local-cosmopolitanism today, it may be interesting to impose the later definition of the construct upon Gouldner's data, and then compare this reconstruction of data derived from a small, private, liberal-arts college with data obtained from fourteen state colleges in Pennsylvania.

TABLE 1. LOCAL-COSMOPOLITANISM IN CO-OP COLLEGE AND IN THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE SYSTEM

Loyalty to the Organization	Co-op College			Loyalty to Profession Pennsylvania Colleges		
	High	Low	N	High	Low	N
High	23%	42%	88	29%	48%	627
Low	18%	12%	37	12%	11%	186
N	57	68	125	335	478	813

$X^2 = 1.164$
P [illegible] .70

Despite differences in locale, time the surveys were taken, and the nature of the institutions studied, the similarities between the two samples with regard to percentage of faculty members classified within the four typologies is remarkable. The chi-squared test applied to the raw score differences between the samples indicates that the magnitude of the differences easily could have occurred by chance. Operationally, this may indicate that our samples are tapping the same dimensions.

Comparing the role types labeled local and cosmopolitan in our sample with what we consider to be the equivalent latent role types in Gouldner's, those whom he called extreme locals and extreme cosmopolitans, many of the hypotheses tested at Co-Op College in the fifties were also affirmed in Pennsylvania in the seventies. For example, in both studies cosmopolitans were more likely than locals to believe that faculty members should have teaching loads lightened to make time available for research. Cosmopolitans were also more likely than locals to regard their salaries as unfortunately low, were more committed to publication, were less apt to participate in campus activities, and were more likely to leave the institution with which they were presently affiliated.

The rule tropism scale, which Gouldner developed to measure the degree to which an organization is administered in terms of formal rules and regulations, was also replicated in our study and compared with the role typologies. Cosmopolitans were much less likely to be concerned with the regulation of student behavior than were locals in both studies, but the Pennsylvania data revealed a much stronger relationship between the two scales. The difference in result led us to the hypothesis that Gouldner's intermediate category between locals and cosmopolitans was actually composed of the <u>two</u> latent social role types used in current research —— the "local-cosmopolitan" and the "indifferent". To test this hypothesis, these two role-types were combined to form an "intermediate" category for the Pennsylvania data, the resulting table compared with Gouldner's data. Table 2 gives the results of this comparison.

TABLE 2. RULE TROPISM AND LATENT SOCIAL ROLE: INTERMEDIATE CATEGORY COMPOSED OF LOCALS-COSMOS AND INDIFFERENTS

	Latent Social Role							
Rule	Co-Op College				Pennsylvania Colleges			
Tropism	Cosmo	Intermed	Local	N	Cosmo	Intermed	Local	N
High	7%	21%	19%	59	1%	21%	39%	497
Low	16%	22%	15%	66	11%	18%	10%	316
N	29	53	43	125	101	319	393	813

Chi-squared $p < .07$ Chi-squared $p < .001$

One reason why our sample may have demonstrated a much stronger relationship between rule tropism and latent social role may be the fact that his questions were "deliberately 'biased' to facilitate answers which agreed with the desirability of using formal controls."[27] Nevertheless, the percentage of professors in the intermediate categories is very similar, perhaps indicating that had Gouldner not combined his two intermediate categories into one, the relationship between latent social role and rule tropism may have been stronger.

The Pennsylvania findings would suggest that combining the intermediate categories obscures a clear relationship. Ninety-four per cent of the "indifferents" —— neighter local nor cosmopolitan —— reacted to the tropism items much as the cosmopolitans did —— favoring minimal student regulation. Conversely, 71 per cent of the "local-cosmopolitans" and 80 per cent of the locals exhibited an orientation toward student behavior that was clearly regulatory in nature. Before testing the implications of the four-fold typology for collective bargaining, Gouldner's refinement of the social role types must be examined.

Local-Cosmopolitanism Refined

Realizing the limitations of his first study, particularly the problems involving the unidimensionality of his construct, Gouldner reanalyzed his data using

factor analysis.[28]

Since many of the interpretations and explanations of local-cosmopolitanism are dependent upon Gouldner's study, Grimes and Berger recommend "replications and extensions of all the factor analytic studies conducted to date..."[29] In order to demonstrate the comparability of our factor analysis with Gouldner's, it is first necessary to demonstrate that similar procedures were employed in both studies. Nunnally has stated:

> No factor analysis should be an end in itself. If the results are interesting, some of the variables will be included in other investigations. Then it will be found to what extent the variables used to define a factor actually "hang together" and measure something different from variables used to define other factors.[30]

Several variables were taken directly from Gouldner's questionnaire and used as marker variables. Rummel reports that "a marker variable indexes the dimensions or factor scores of other studies" so that sufficient overlap between studies is insured.[31] Although Guilford recommends the use of at least three marker variables per factor, the present research averaged eight marker variables per factor.[32] Each marker variable was selected because of its timeliness and its relatively high loading on Gouldner's original factors. Rummel assures us that high loadings unique to individual factors will cause "little danger of spurious similarity or dissimilarity" when results are compared, regardless of other variables on the questionnaire.[33]

Gouldner chose the most popular factor analytic technique —— before electronic computers removed the necessity of considering computational labor when selecting a method of extraction —— the centroid method. Again, the present researchers rely upon Rummel who states that "...the centroid and principal axes techniques give results with loadings that are not very different..."[34] Today,

principal axes has "virtually supplanted centroid in popularity" and together they account for 95 per cent of the published factor analytic studies.[35] Both employ component analysis as the factor model. This model does not divide variance into common and unique portions, but

> ...simply asks what would be the best linear combination of variables —— best in the sense that the particular combination of variables would account for more of the variance in the data as a whole than any other linear combination of variables.... No particular assumption about the underlying structure of the variables is required.[36]

The method of rotation selected by Gouldner was quartimax —— the rotation of initial factors in such a way that a variable loads highly on one factor. This method of rotation has waned in popularity because it has not been very successful in producing simpler structures when compared to the varimax method, a method which tends to simplify the columns of a factor matrix.[37] However, to faithfully replicate the original study, a principal axes extraction with a quartimax rotation was used.

The second Gouldner article reported his factor loadings in Appendix B. The first question to be asked is whether or not the same variables are loaded on the same factors in both studies. To conserve space, both sets of data are reported in Table 3, and Gouldner's item numbers are used. A shortened item description will also facilitate comparison.

Originally, Gouldner's items were listed first and our loadings compared with his, bout the large number of items that loaded on more than one factor in Gouldner's study made this mode of comparison cumbersome. To clarify the presentation of the data, our results are compared with items of Gouldner's study that loaded .50 and above.

INSERT TABLE 3 HERE

TABLE 3. COMPARISON OF PENNSYLVANIA FACTORS WITH CO-OP FACTORS

Item	Abbreviated Question	Pennsylvania Factor Loadings	Co-Op Factor Loadings
	"True Bureaucrat-Local"	I	II
60.	College regulations are too lenient	(.82)	(-.54)
7.	More supervision of student behavior	(.74)	(-.58)
11.	Hours for freshmen are desirable	(.72)	(-.51)
19.	Degree of responsibility expected of students too great a strain	(.70)	- .40
10.	Student evaluation of faculty tends to encourage catering to popularity	.37	
6.	Courses which integrate disciplines tend to become watered down	.35	
24.	Criticism of AAUP chapter unjustified	-.31	(.51)
	"The Dedicated-Locals"	II	I
39.	Faculty loads should be lighter so more time available for research	(.52)	
18.	Time pressure makes personal contact with students difficult	.46	.35
13.	Too much demand placed on faculty to participate in extracurricular events	.44	.40
38.	More decision-making power should rest with teaching faculty	.43	.34
36.	Most contacts with administrators are on the official level	.35	
55.	It is too bad salaries are so low	.30	.30
	"Elder-Locals"	III	IV
94.	Department--administration	(-.71)	
95.	What year did you first come to college	(.59)	(.68)
80.	Number of students known by name (most)	.33	
Y	Would you accept administration position with no teaching duties (yes)	.31	
	"Outsider-Cosmopolitan"	IV	VI
37.	One gets very little intellectual stimulation from his colleagues here	(.51)	-.34
16.	Relationships among faculty are almost wholly co-operative and friendly	-.49	.36
67.	Barring unforeseen changes, would you remain here permanently	-.38	.29
77.	Faculty members you know well	.36	(-.52)
Z	Preference for representative--PAHE	.35	
69.	Would you leave your college if offered a job at Harvard or Princeton	.31	-.29

TABLE 3 CONTINUED

Item	Abbreviated Question	Pennsylvania Factor Loadings	Co-Op Factor Loadings
	"The Dedicated-Locals"	V	I
64.	Teaching techniques--reliance on lecture	(-.55)	.30
21.	More student interest in course content and less in application to personal life	.44	(.60)
5.	The lecture method is underestimated	.30	.46
	"Home Guard-Locals"	VI	III
111.	Books or articles published in (book) last five years (articles)	.33 (.53)	(-.58)
113.	Professional meetings attended	.32	(-.61)
42.	If I saw no opportunity to do personal research here, my job would be less satisfying	-.31	.39

KEY: Loadings above .50 are placed in parentheses, while loadings below .50 are underscored.
Questions denoted by the letters "Y" and "Z" indicate those derived from the Pennsylvania research.

There are some differences between the two studies that should be noted before discussing the results of this comparison. Gouldner's study was subject to criticism because there were nearly as many items in his questionnaire as there were respondents in the sample.[38] For Likert-type questions, Nunnally recommends a respondent-to-item ratio of ten-to-one.[39] Since 813 usable questionnaires, each containing 73 items, were returned in the Pennsylvania study, the inter-item correlations derived from this data should be more accurate than those used in the Gouldner article. Even with his relatively unstable correlation matrix, Gouldner accepted variable loadings as low as .25 as a contribution to a factor. Nunnally advises that loadings of .30 or below should not be taken seriously and cautions that it is easy to over interpret loadings below .40.[40] Since our first objective was to test the hypothesis of latent social role types as identified by factor analysis, the lower loadings were reported, but are underscored.

All items reported by Gouldner as loading highly (.50 or above) on the "True Bureaucrats-Locals" factors also loaded highly on our first factor. This consistency would imply that these items do in fact tap a dimension, but the question then becomes which dimension? Three of the four most highly loaded items were originally considered by Gouldner to be a measure of rule tropism, or faculty orientation toward the regulation of student behavior. The researchers agree with Grimes and Berger when they state that "...it is difficult from the data...to ascribe a cosmopolitan or local label to Factor I, nor is Factor II descriptive of locals."[41] This factor was found to account for 38.3 per cent of the variance in the Pennsylvania data.

Replication using state college data showed that Gouldner's "Dedicated-Locals" were separated into two social role types by our factor analysis. Our second factor reveals a professor who is concerned with the excessive demands placed upon faculty

by students, administration, and perhaps his own desire to do research. Yet, with all of these perceived time constraints, these "dedicated" feel that more decision-making power should be concentrated in the hands of the teaching faculty. This group of individuals is most opposed to the selection of any bargaining representative. They may be individualists, but there is not evidence linking this role type with locals. Professors who load highly on Factor V may be regarded as "dedicated" in the sense that they are concerned with teaching techniques —— particularly the lecture method.

Factor III in the present study is the converse of Gouldner's "Elder-Locals" category. The dimension being tapped seems to be the same one in both studies. The faculty members in Pennsylvania have arrived more recently, have met many students, and have aspirations to be administrators —— clearly a local orientation.

Our Factors IV and VI seem to parallel most closely commitment to organization and commitment to skills as defined in Gouldner's first study. The "Outsider-Cosmopolitan" (Factor IV) seems dissatisfied with his relationships to his colleagues. He is not planning to remain at the college where he is presently teaching, but hopes to profit psychologically and financially from any move. Reversing the factor scores on Factor VI would produce Gouldner's "Homeguard-Locals", a type of local not particularly committed to professional advancement.

In some fashion, five of Gouldner's six factors were reproduced in this study; only "The Empire Builder-Cosmopolitans" was not. Of this factor, Grimes and Berger report "As it stands, Factor V must be considered uninterpretable in terms of the construct."[42] It should be noted that some items used by Gouldner, such as sex, were also included on our questionnaire, but were omitted from the analysis because they did not load on any of our factors.

In light of this experience with quasi-replication, we can recommend that future studies include more items relating to Factors IV and VI of this study.

These two factors seem to measure best the concept that Gouldner originally called local-cosmopolitanism. From a replication of Gouldner's second study, his first is clarified.

Before concluding this section, it must be reported that the data from the Pennsylvania study were re-analyzed without some of the constraints imposed by the replication of Gouldner's work. Raw scores were converted to z-scores and these were subjected to principal components analysis with a varimax rotation. Table 4 summarizes the results of this experiment.

TABLE 4. RE-ANALYSIS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA DATA —— LATENT SOCIAL ROLES

Abbreviated Question	Factor Loading
I	
We need more supervision of student behavior	.73
College regulations have been too lenient	.78
Hours for freshmen are desirable	.68
Degree of responsibility expected of students is too great a strain on people their age	.70
The requirement that a professor sign a loyalty oath is reasonable	.58
Students who actively disrupt the functioning of a college by demonstrating etc. should be expelled	.54
Students involved in civil disobedience off campus should be subject to discipline by college as well as local authorities	.48
Unrestricted freedom of discussion on every topic is not desirable	.46
Student evaluation of faculty trends to encourage undesirable catering to popularity	.38
II	
Time pressures make it difficult for faculty to have close personal contact with students	.53
It is too bad that salaries are so low	.49
There is too much demand on faculty members to participate in extra-curricular activities	.47
More decision-making power should rest with the teaching faculty	.37
Most contacts with administrators are on the official level	.33
III	
One receives much intellectual stimulation from his colleagues here	.62
One of the nice things about this college is the cooperative and friendly faculty	.48
Tends to know many faculty members	.32
IV	
Number of years at this college (many)	.55
Would remain if salary were cut	.47
Intends to remain at college permanently	.41
Would not leave Pennsylvania state colleges if job were offered at Harvard or Princeton	.37
V	
Published articles in past five years	.65
Published books in past five years	.37
VI	
Students should have a genuine love of scholarship	.33
Students should take more of an interest in course content and less in its applications	.44

These results are very similar to the results reported in Table 3 —— again the True Bureaucrat, the Elder, the Dedicated, and the Cosmopolitan Outsider are easily identifiable. Since our questionnaire incorporated three items from Hartnett's scale, and these loaded highly on the first factor, our earlier hypothesis that the True Bureaucrat factor is really measuring rule tropism or a custodial attitude toward students is supported.[43]

Factor II seems clearly to be measuring sociability, Factor V publications, and Factor II alienation from the present position in the school. Factor IV measures most clearly commitment to organization. These factors, along with the scales previously developed, will now be related to collective bargaining.

Local-Cosmopolitanism and Collective Bargaining

Is the local-cosmopolitan construct, however defined, useful in the investigation of propositions relating to collective bargaining? Before this question can be answered we must first ask whether or not the faculty members perceive any advantage in selecting a bargaining agent at all. The hypothesis here, of course, is that cosmopolitans and indifferents would be much less likely to favor Act 195 than would locals or local-cosmopolitans. Locals, being less mobile, could perceive collective negotiations as a vehicle to advance their interests and status, whereas, cosmopolitans may feel they can better cope with the administrations without the support of a bargaining representative.

The data do not support this hypothesis. There is no significant difference among the latent social role types with respect to the passage of the Public Employees Relations Act. Approximately 60 per cent of the professors, regardless of orientation, regarded the passage of Act 195 as a benefit to faculty members. Of the remainder about half were opposed to the legislation and the other half were undecided or indifferent. Understandably, faculty who desire no bargaining representatives were most hostile to the passage of Act 195. AFT supporters were the

most enthusiastic group in favor of collective bargaining legislation.[44]

Once the decision to elect a bargaining representative is made, the question becomes which agent can offer more benefits to the faculty member? Or, perhaps more fundamentally, does it matter which competing representative is elected? A salient factor in evaluating competing bargaining representatives is how far will the organization go in presenting the demands of its clientele? Would it call a strike? It is hypothesized that the perceptions of professors, whether accurate, distorted, or ill-informed, play an important role in the consideration of a prospective bargaining agent.

Expressing sympathy with the employee and his right to strike, the latent social role types generally favor the right of teachers to join a union and to go on strike to secure higher salaries and other benefits. Again, there are no significant differences among the four role types on this question. Faculty members who expressed a preference for bargaining agent did, however, illustrate a differential perception of the utility of strikes. Congruent with their reputation as the most frankly militant collective bargaining organization, the AFT advocates the use of the strike, when necessary to accomplish its ends. Early successes by the AFT forced the NEA first, then the AAUP to recognize the strike as a legitimate economic sanction.[45] AFT supporters in Pennsylvania were the faculty members most amenable to the use of the strike to achieve economic objectives. Ninety-one per cent of the faculty who expressed a preference for the AFT on the questionnaire agreed with the statement "Teachers, if they want to, should go on strike to secure higher salaries and other benefits." In fact, 77 of the 91 per cent not only agreed with the statement, but strongly agreed with it. At the other extreme, only 28 per cent of those faculty who preferred not to have a bargaining representative at all agreed with the statement. Respondents expressing a

preference for either the NEA or the AAUP took a moderate position, with 62 per cent and 66 per cent respectively favoring militant collective action.

Our third hypothesis was that locals and cosmopolitans would differ with respect to the role of teacher's organizations. What did the faculty members feel that teachers' organizations should do for them? Should they influence legislation? Take sides on public issues? Endorse candidates in school elections? Endorse political candidates? Once again, the local-cosmopolitan construct failed to discriminate among the possible role of the teachers' organizations. But, as Table 5 indicates, there is a difference in perception regarding the proper role of the teachers' organizations.

TABLE 5. FACULTY RESPONSE TO THE ROLE OF TEACHERS' ORGANIZATIONS

	Faculty Response Percentage					
Items	AAUP	AFT	NEA	No Agent	Undecided	Average-All Respondents
1. Influence legislation	89.6	92.9	93.3	71.8	89.2	90.2
2. Take sides on public issues	57.1	77.2	63.7	30.8	59.4	59.7
3. Endorse candidates in school elections	51.2	70.2	57.5	27.0	43.2	53.5
4. Endorse political candidates	38.4	59.6	53.7	19.3	43.2	46.5

Most professors agree that bargaining representatives should use their influence to promote legislation favorable to college faculties. There is a lesser degree of agreement on the other three items, but AFT and NEA supporters are consistently more congenial to a more explicit political role for bargaining agents than are AAUP advocates. As expected, the greatest discrepancy in the perception of the proper role for a bargaining agent to play is between professors who favor any of the negotiation agents and those who preferred no representative at all.

For what purpose to supporters of the various organizations endorse more political activism? Do the latent social role types discriminate among the impor-

tant issues in the Pennsylvania election for bargaining representative? There was one issue of overriding priority on the Pennsylvania negotiation agenda —— salary. Forty-eight per cent of the total number of respondents answered salary when asked "Regardless of the agency selected, what items should have highest priority on the negotiations agenda?" The issue mentioned next most frequently, a reduction in teaching load, was considerably further down the list with only 7.4% of the respondents mentioning it as the issue with highest priority. Nearly tied for third position as most important issues facing the faculties of the Pennsylvania state colleges were a greater voice in the making of policy by academic faculty and an increase in fringe benefits, such as medical insurance and leave time.

Since economic issues dominated the campaign, it might be expected that locals would be most concerned with economic improvements in their situation, whereas cosmopolitans would evidence a concern for their professional status. But salary considerations so biased the table that no differences among role types stood out. Even faculty who preferred not to be represented by a bargaining agent listed salary increases as the issue of highest priority. Sixty-one per cent of AFT supporters, 55 per cent of NEA advocates, 34 per cent of AAUP sympathesizers, and 32 per cent of those favoring no agent specified salary as the key issue in the campaign. Incidentally, tenured as well as untenured faculty members were almost equally interested in salary increases.

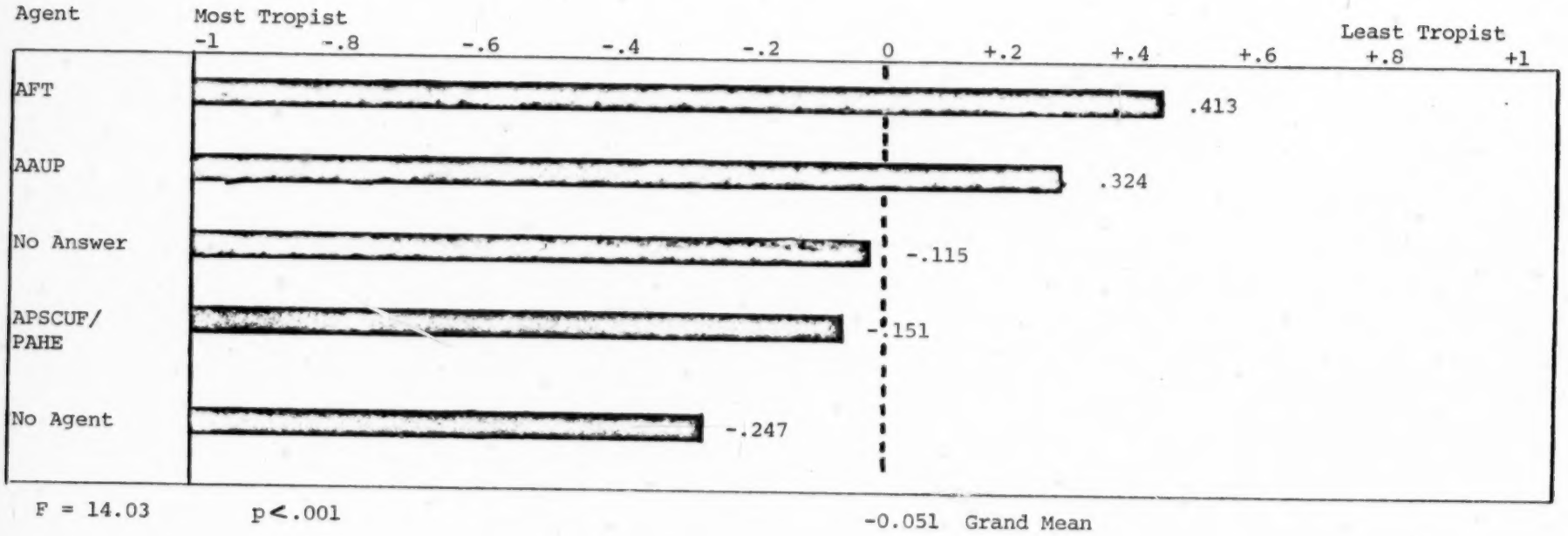
Our last hypothesis was that locals would most likely favor the PAHE, cosmopolitans, the AFT, both local-cosmopolitans, the AAUP, and the indifferents, no agent. Again the typology did not discriminate adequately, although the relationship between the two variables was significant ($P < .001$). The most numerous role type, the locals, and the organization that received the most votes, the NEA affi-

liate, dominated the relationship. Most locals favored the PAHE, while most cosmopolitans, contrary to our hypothesis, favored the AAUP. The other two latent social role types also favored the PAHE, but not to the degree the locals did.

The local-cosmopolitan typology was disappointing in its lack of ability to discriminate among the several issues dealing with collective negotiations. In each instance, simply asking a professor his preference as to bargaining representative was much more likely to reveal his attitude toward Act 195, his perception of the role of teachers' organizations in general, and with regard to strikes in particular, and his orientation on the issues than was his latent social role type. Echoing Grimes and Berger, much more developmental research on the construct is required before it is able to differentiate among organization members efficiently.[46]

Nevertheless, research on the local-cosmopolitanism construct did draw our attention to another concept that consistently persisted to account for most of the variance in the data —— the one named rule tropism in Gouldner's first study and "true bureaucrat" in his second. The relationship between this variable, as measured in a three-item Guttman scale, and preference for bargaining agent was more significant than was the relationship between local-cosmopolitansim and bargaining agent choice. But, when rule tropism is defined as our Factor I (Table 4) the relationship between custodial orientation and preference for bargaining agent becomes clear. Figure 1 below shows that AFT supporters were most sympathetic and permissive in their attitudes toward the regulation of student behavior. Faculty members not favoring the selection of a bargaining representative, on the other hand, seemed most unwilling to permit an easing of student restrictions.

FIGURE I. BARGAINING REPRESENTATIVE AND RULE TROPISM
(Mean Factor Scores for each Bargaining Representative)



The explanatory power of the tropism construct appears to be much greater than the discriminatory power of the local-cosmopolitan construct, at least as far as collective negotiations is concerned. It may therefore be a wiser allocation of resources to divert some of the current efforts presently consumed in refinements of the local-cosmopolitan construct to additional research on a more promising construct —— rule tropism.

NOTES

1. Alvin W. Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles," Administrative Science Quarterly, 2: 281-306 (1957) and his "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles - II", Administrative Science Quarterly, 2: 444-480 (1958). See also, Vernon J. Bentz, A Study of Leadership in a Liberal Arts College (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1950); Robert K. Merton, "Patterns of Influence: Local and Cosmopolitan Influentials," in Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe: Free Press, 1957), pp. 366-380; and Leonard Reissman, "A Study of Role Conceptions in Bureaucracy," Social Forces 27: 305-310 (1949).

2. For example, see the works of Mark Abrahamson, "Cosmopolitanism, Dependence - Identification and Geographical Mobility," Administrative Science Quarterly 10: 98-106 (1965); Robert B. Brumbaugh, "Local-Cosmopolitan Orientation and Teacher Attitudes Toward Reorganization," Administrator's Notebook 12: 1-4 (1964); Barney G. Glaser, "The Local-Cosmopolitan Scientist," American Journal of Sociology 74: 506-520 (1969); and John Sutthoff, "Local-Cosmopolitan Orientation and Participation in School Affairs," Administrator's Notebook 9: 1-4 (1960).

3. Andrew Grimes and Philip K. Berger, "Cosmopolitan-Local: Evaluation of the Construct," Administrative Science Quarterly 15: 407-416 (1970).

4. "Colleges and Universities Where Faculties Have Chosen Collective Bargaining Agents," The Chronicle of Higher Education, 6: 2 (May 15, 1972).

5. Editorial, Illinois Professor, 4: 2 (Spring, 1972).

6. Lewis B. Mayhew, "Faculty Demands and Faculty Militance," Journal of Higher Education, 40: 339 (May, 1969). See also Marvin J. Levine, "Higher Education and Collective Action," Journal of Higher Education 38: 265 (May, 1967).

7. "Council Position on Collective Bargaining," AAUP Bulletin. See also Robert L. Jacobson, "AAUP Votes Overwhelmingly to Pursue Bargaining," The Chronicle of Higher Education, 6: 1-2 (May 15, 1972).

8. Mayhew, loc. cit.

9. Donald H. Wollett, "The Status and Trends of Collective Negotiations for Faculty in Higher Education," Wisconsin Law Review, 1: 1-29 (1970).

10. Delbert C. Miller, Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement (New York: David McKay, 1970), p. 82.

11. Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1954), p. 397.

12. John W. Moore, The Attitudes of Pennsylvania Community College Faculty Toward Collective Negotiations in Relation to their Sense of Power and Sense of Mobility (Doctoral dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1970). See also his Pennsylvania Community College Faculty Attitudes toward Collective Negotiations (University Park, Pa.: Center for the Study of Higher Education, 1971).

13. Larry L. Leslie, "Are High Response Rates Essential to Valid Surveys?" Social Science Research 1: 323-334 (1972).

14. Kerlinger, op. cit. 401.

15. The survey instrument, as did the official October 6 election ballot, provided for a vote for any one of three prosepctive bargaining agents, in addition to a possible vote for "no agent." The questionnaire item tapping this response read as follows: "The Passage of the Public Employee Relations Act permits state college faculties in Pennsylvania to select a bargaining agent. If the election to decide which agency should represent us were to be held today, which agency would you vote for? (Please check one of the following.)

AFT_____ AAUP_____ APSCUF/PAHE_____ No Agent_____"

16. The data forecast an NEA (affiliate, the Association of Pennsylvania State College and University Faculties/Pennsylvania Association for Higher Education) victory, winning with 56.3 per cent of the total votes cast in the election. APSCUF/PAHE actually received 55.5 per cent of the votes, lending credibility to our assertion that the sample is representative of NEA supporters. While our data indicated that the AAUP would be the runner-up in the election, the proportion of their vote was underestimated. A quarter of our survey respondents indicated a preference for the AAUP, but they received 35.5% of the actual vote. On the other hand, both AFT strength and the vote of faculty who preferred no bargaining was slightly overestimated. Our survey results indicated that the AFT would receive 6.7% of the total vote and they received only 4.4% of the votes cast. Faculty preferring not to be represented by a bargaining agent received 4.6% of the votes, whereas we expected them to receive more like 9% of votes cast. Naturally individuals who were undecided at the time of the survey may have made up their minds in the interim between the survey and the election date.

While post-survey speculation may not add to the credibility of the study, it may offer the reader some insights into our confidence in the results. The relatively small percentage of undecided respondents would seem to indicate fairly strong preferences and point to the large turnout of voters. A survey conducted closer to the actual election date may have made the prediction more accurate (though the election was originally set for May 1971). A straw poll conducted during the spring semester showed that the vast majority of faculty members favored the election of a bargaining agent. The AFT investment in election campaigning seemed to be much less than its rivals. Given these circumstances, some voters may have realized that there was little chance to defeat the idea of a bargaining representative or that the AFT would win. Therefore, though actually preferring one of these alternatives, realistically they may have decided to vote for the AAUP. (It should be noted that respondents who listed more than one preference always named AAUP as one of their choices).

Regardless of this speculation, even if the sample does underestimate AAUP strength, the correlations within the sample are still valid, though they may not accurately reflect population proportions. That is, an association between AAUP preference and one of Gouldner's latent role types would still be valid,

though there would be more of this type in the state college system than the sample would indicate. See Stephen Cole "The Unionization of Teachers: A Case Study of Change in a Profession," Doctoral Dissertation: Columbia University, 1967) and his "Teacher's Strike: A Study of Conversion of Predisposition into Action, " American Journal of Sociology 74: 506-520 (1969) for a further discussion of this problem.

17. Gouldner, op. cit., 295.

18. Ibid., 305.

19. See particularly, Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, Formal Organizations (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962), William Kornhauser, Scientists in Industry: Conflict and Accomodation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), and Alan C. Filley and Robert J. House, Managerial Process and Organizational Behavior (Glenview, Ill: Scott Foresman & Co., 1969).

20. Grimes and Berger, op. cit., 413.

21. Russell Thornton, "Organizational Involvement and Commitment to Organization and Profession," Administrative Science Quarterly 15: 417 (December, 1970).

22. For example see Mary E. Sheldon, "Investments and Involvements as Mechanisms Producing Commitment to the Organization," Administrative Science Quarterly 17: 143-150 (1972).

23. Barney G. Glaser, "The Local-Cosmopolitan Scientist," American Journal of Sociology 69: 249-260 (November, 1963); and his Organizational Scientists (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill Company, Inc., 1964), Chapter 2.

24. Theodore Caplow and Reece J. McGee, The Academic Marketplace (New York: Basic Books, 1958), p. 85.

25. W. G. Bennis, N. Berkowitz, M. Affinito, and M. Malone, "Reference Groups and Loyalties in the Out-Patient Department," Administrative Science Quarterly 2: 481-500 (March, 1958); Leonard Reissman, op. cit., 305-310; and Robert Presthus, The Organizational Society (New York: Vintage Books, 1962).

26. George A. Miller and L. Wesley Wager, "Adult Socialization, Organizational Structure, and Role Orientations," Administrative Science Quarterly 16: 151-163 (1971).

27. Gouldner, op. cit., 299.

28. Gouldner, op. cit., 444-480.

29. Grimes and Berger, op. cit., 414.

30. Jum C. Nunnally, Psychometric Theory (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967), p. 358.

31. Rudolph J. Rummel, Applied Factor Analysis (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970), p. 212.

32. J. P. Guilford, "Preparation of Item Scores for the Correlations Between Persons in a Q Factor Analysis," Educational and Psychological Measurement 23: 13-22 (1963).

33. Rummel, op. cit., 381, 459.

34. Ibid., 455.

35. Ibid., 168.

36. Ibid.

37. Norman H. Nile, Dale H. Bent, and C. Hadlai Hull, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (New York: McGraw Hill, 1970) p. 224.

38. Grimes and Berger, op. cit., 408.

39. Nunnally, op. cit., 355.

40. Ibid., 369.

41. Grimes and Berger, op. cit., 410.

42. Ibid.

43. See R.T. Hartnett, "College and University Trustees: Their Backgrounds, Roles, and Educational Attitudes", in C. E. Kruytbosch and S. L. Messinger (eds.) The State of the University (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1970).

44. Moore, op. cit. (1971), p. 36, reports that among community college faculties AFT supporters most strongly favored collective bargaining.

45. Mayhew, op. cit., 338-339.

46. Grimes and Berger, op. cit., 415.

APPENDIX A

THE GUTTMAN SCALES

I. Commitment to Skills

1. What college degrees do you hold?
2. If I saw not opportunity to do my own personal research here, I would find my job less satisfying.
   Strongly agree___ Agree___ Don't Know___ Disagree___ Strongly Disagree___
3. Faculty members should have their loads lightened to make more time available for private research, writing or other work in their field.
   Strongly Agree___ Agree___ Don't Know___ Disagree___ Strongly Disagree___
4. Number of books published during the last five years?
5. Number of articles published during the last five years?

Items were dichotomized exactly as Gouldner had dichotomized his with the exception of the weighted coefficient for publication which is discussed in the text. He reported a coefficient of reproducibility of 85.8. This scale, with one additional item, produced a coefficient of reproducibility of 88.4, minimal marginal reproducibility of 69.8 —— an indication that the scale was not produced because of the extreme frequencies of the marginals.

II. Commitment to the Organization

1. Would you leave your present position if offered a job at Harvard or Princeton?
   ___at lower salary ___at same salary ___at higher salary ___wouldn't leave
2. Although there are probably reasons for this, it is too bad faculty salaries are so low.
   Strongly Agree___ Agree___ Don't Know___ Disagree___ Strongly Disagree___
3. About how many faculty do you know?
   (Raw numbers collapsed into categories)

Gouldner attained a coefficient of reproducibility of 89.8, ours is 96.9, with a minimal marginal reproducibility of .81.

III. Rule Tropism

A a N d D 1. By and large, college regulations have been too lenient.

A a N d D 2. The behavior of the student body during the last few years suggests that hours for freshmen are desirable.

A a N d D 3. Looking at developments in the area of the community, it would seem we need more supervision of student behavior.

Gouldner's reproducibility was 90.6 per cent.